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ABSTRACT

To address the question of why newspapers tend to become more and more fragmented internally and to propose a model of the interrelationships between the newspaper and its "operating environment," this paper draws on recent work by organizational theorists. Beginning by examining the central goal of newspapers, the first section suggests that the difficulty of integrating newspapers may stem, in part, from the need to identify central, unifying goals of newspapers and the critical tasks of each of their departments. From there the paper proceeds to examine newspapers as boundary-spanning organizations, including external and internal boundaries. A typology of boundary spanning is provided that takes into account the routine ways newspapers deal with the uncertainty in news work, the roles of proximity and impact in determing how events are processed as news, the stories outside the predictable range of probabilities, the trends and incidents in news stories--especially "what-a-story" events, and the deadlines and other work flow decisions in newspaper organizations. The paper concludes with the suggestions that the application of the boundary-spanning model may be prescriptive rather than descriptive, a delineation of what "ought to be" rather than what "is." Nevertheless, the paper suggests the model may come closer to directing attention to remedies than the critical descriptions of news and news work offered by other recent research. (HOD)

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Newspaper Division

# TOWARDS A SYSTEMS MODEL OF NEWSPAPER ORGANIZATIONS

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TOWARDS A SYSTEMS MODEL OF NEWSPAPER ORGANIZATIONS

Newspapers as organizations have changed radically since those romantic early days when editors often functioned as publisher, printer, reporter, editorial writer and circulation manager, all embodied in a single person, perhaps aided by an apprentice or two. Modern organization researchers would say they worked in a relatively simple "operating environment," essentially the territory they could cover physically and the tasks they could perform. A few weekly newspapers may approach this mode of operation today, but most rely on some division of labor, and with good reason -- their "operating environment," the set of conditions outside the organization having a direct impact on its day-to-day functioning, is complex, even in a small town.

In most papers, especially dailies, division of labor has led to highly specialized functions. In all but the smallest daily newspapers, few news employees really know those in the advertising or circulation departments, other than to nod in the elevator or exchange smiles at a company picnic. They may work in the same building and be involved in the same product, the newspaper, but on a day-in, day-out basis, they have little contact. In fact, in many larger dailies, news-editorial employees may work in relative isolation from one another, with special sections, such as sports and life-style in offices away from the main newsroom, not to mention the district offices or bureaus and the quiet corner usually reserved for editorial writers.

This compartmentalization would not be surprising to such organization researchers as Lawrence and Lorsch, who found in examining different kinds of organizations that those in dynamic and complex environments -- as most newspapers certainly are -- can expect greater "differentiation."[1] By this, they mean that identification of subtasks within an organization will be related to how predictable they are and the more they differ in predictability, the more individual structures (i.e., departments or work teams) will be developed to deal with them. Further, Lawrence and Lorsch say that as a result of such differentiation, different ways of thinking and feeling will arise in the different structures.

There is a good deal of evidence that organizations with a high degree of differentiation find it more difficult to achieve cooperation and collaboration among departments -- what Lawrence and Lorsch call "integration." In other words, differentiation involves more than people in different departments not knowing each other; it involves not knowing how to work together when the need arises and perhaps engaging in rivalrous behavior within the organization. But Lawrence and Lorsch, in their study of organizations, found that integration is necessary to the effectiveness of all organizations, even though the method of achieving such collaboration will vary.[2]

The kinds of problems that newspapers may encounter in trying to achieve integration have been well documented by Argyris and Kaufman.[3] Argyris tried over a three-year period to help top news and editorial leaders of a prestigious metropolitan paper develop a more open, less divisive pattern of interpersonal behavior so that editors and executives could work together more effectively to bring about changes in the newspaper. But the project was terminated by the newspaper, and, according to Argyris, there was a continuation of the mistrust and interdepartmental rivalry he had observed at the outset of the experiment.[4]

Kaufman, arguing that achieving integration by changing interpersonal behavior was too difficult, especially in view of the difficulties Argyris encountered, looked at how organizational structure affects integration of newspapers. Specifically, he compared a newspaper with a "traditional" structure, headed by a publisher, and a newspaper in a group where all papers had operated for many years with bilateral hierarchies, which meant each paper had two leaders -- an editor and a general manager -- who were co-equals in determining policy and resolving interdepartmental conflicts. Kaufman found, contrary to the expectations of newspaper executives with bilateral structures, that the more traditional hierarchy with one chief executive had a greater internal harmony, in other words, a greater degree of integration.[5]

What Argyris and Kaufman did not discuss was why, as newspapers developed over the years, they tended to become more and more fragmented internally. This paper will draw on recent work by organization theorists, as well as communications studies, to address that question and propose a model of the interrelationships between the newspaper and its "operating environment" and among the various subunits of the newspaper organization.

## The Central Goal of Newspapers

The difficulty of integrating newspapers may stem, in part, from a need to identify the central, unifying goal of such institutions and the critical task of each of their departments. It may help to begin with the task of news-editorial departments (which can be split into separate news and editorial units, especially in the largest papers, such as the New York Times). The messages they produce have been a central concern of communications researchers investigating this issue. They have identified a number of different functions of the news media: opinion leadership, entertainment, agenda-setting, gate-keeping, education or cultural transmission, surveillance of the environment and

correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment.[6] Each of those functions may be important, but we will argue here that surveillance and evaluation of what is happening in the environment is the critical task. A newspaper and the efforts of its news-editorial department(s) will be judged by how well it gathers and processes news, by which we mean information that can be gleaned from surveillance of the environment that is relevant to the audience of a given medium.[7]

How thorough that surveillance is, how clearly and accurately it informs readers about the dangers, pleasures and possibilities "out there," and how carefully it evaluates the potential risks and benefits of various choices that individuals, organizations and society as a whole can make, all may be taken into consideration. That is not to argue that newspapers should engage in thorough surveillance out of altruistic motives. Rather it is posited that the closer the newspaper comes to fulfilling this critical task, the more effective it will be in terms of attracting and influencing an audience. Max Ways points to the success of the Los Angeles Times, which he says "developed an ability to cover trends, as well as events, and to relate local subjects to the regional and national scenes," profiting in both financial and prestige terms.[8]

This is not meant to suggest that newspapers should forswear educational and entertainment functions. It is instead an argument against the assumption that these functions are primary in determining a newspaper's success. Comics and crosswords, gossip and horoscopes may help to build and maintain readership, but they are not enough. Neither are how-to articles and historical features. The essential business of newspapers is news.

## Newspapers as Boundary Spanning Organizations

This definition of news from a communications perspective and its

identification as the critical task of news-editorial departments permits examination of newspapers under a relatively new rubric of organization theory, boundary-spanning, a term derived from general systems theory.

Essentially, it refers to exchanges between a system and its environment -- and it should be kept in mind that an individual human being can be viewed as a system. Boundary-spanning, as a concept, has been used to evaluate key activities in such diverse organizations as a wood products company, aerospace project, electric power pool and research and development organizations.[9] Boundary spanners are defined by Leifer and Delbecq as "persons who operate at the periphery or boundary of an organization, performing organizationally relevant tasks, relating the organization with elements outside it," but those researchers add that boundary-spanning activity can be found among all members of an organization in varying degrees.

A study by Keller, Szilagyi and Holland of boundary-spanning activity by managers, engineers and supervisors in a large manufacturing company is of special interest here: Two of the four items making up their scale to measure boundary-spanning activity dealt with media use. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of magazines, journals and newspapers read regularly and the frequency with which they recommended specific information sources to colleagues. The other two items in the scale concerned the frequency with which information/advice was sought from members of other organizations and the frequency with which members of other organizations sought information from the respondents.[11] Although definitions of boundary-spanning activity, such as the one by Leifer and Delbecq, do not limit it to communication activity, it can be and frequently is operationalized largely in information-getting and -giving terms.[12]

Research on boundary-spanning implies -- it apparently has yet to be explicit on the subject -- that newspapers, magazines and such specialized media

as professional journals are boundary-spanning organizations. (It gives less attention to broadcast media than to print sources and interpersonal communication, but there is no reason to exclude them from such a category.)

Consider how an average household might make use of a daily newspaper as a boundary-spanning unit. It arrives on the doorstep with the front page carrying information from the environment that ideally will be of greatest relevance to the largest portion of its readers. Inside will be information divided according to recognized subdivisions of the environment: geographic areas, such as state, local, national and international, and areas of interest, such as sports, arts and entertainment, business and economics, food, family or lifestyle. There will be a great many categories of advertising, too, some of them scattered through the paper, others assigned to specific sections matched to reading matter in the news columns.

If father is investing in the stock market and mother is a teacher in the local schools, they may divide the paper into sections most likely to contain news about portions of the environment that could affect their lives. Mother may be interested in local news and father the business section, while junior scans the movie listings in preparation for a Saturday night date. If grocery shopping is on the schedule, one or more may read the food ads for bargains and coupons and the one with cooking responsibility may glance at recipe ideas as well.

What that kind of activity by readers suggests is that they see the whole paper as a way of keeping track of what's happening out there that might have some meaning to them, not just what's in the news or editorial columns. In fact, a 1975 study of a small, rural daily found that readers "view advertising as a source of local news,"[13] and a re-analysis of data collected during 1974 in a large metropolitan area showed if the content of a message "contains information of perceived interest and/or value to the reader, it apparently is considered 'information' rather than 'news' or 'advertising,' contrary to the traditional journalistic distinction."[14]

It is important to recognize that people with information to convey, whether they be news sources or advertisers, also treat newspapers as boundary-spanning organizations. For them, the paper is a means of reaching an important part of their environment, its readership.

Internal and External Boundaries

Leifer and Delbecq see internal boundaries around various departments and other subunits as operating much the way external boundaries do, thus internal boundary-spanning is another measure of integration.[15] They say the periphery of an organization may be relatively open to external influences, but that one or more of its subsystems may have comparatively impermeable boundaries. They provide a typology that may be useful in developing a model of the newspaper system, its subsystems and their relationships to the greater environment (Table 1).

TABLE 1

LEIFER-DELBECQ TYPOLOGY OF BOUNDARY SPANNING

| | Perceived Environmental Uncertainty | |
|---|---|---|
| Information Need | Low | High |
| Anticipated, regular | I<br>Initiation: Regulated<br>Process: Routine | II<br>Initiation: Regulated<br>Process: Nonroutine |
| Unanticipated, irregular | III<br>Initiation: Nonregulated<br>Process: Routine | IV<br>Initiation: Nonregulated<br>Process: Nonroutine |

SOURCE: Richard Leifer and Andre Delbecq, "Organizational/Environmental Interchange: A Model of Boundary Spanning Activity," Academy of Management Review 3 (January 1978): 45.

Consider how such a typology might apply to newspaper departments:

Type I (regulated initiation of boundary-spanning and a routine process for such activities) might represent the circulation department. It epitomizes

the case in which need for information is regular and anticipated; it is the mechanism that actually links the newspaper to its readers and potential readers. It must compete with the delivery system of other media that operate in a dependable and timely manner -- if the "Today" show can be on the air at 7 a.m. and Dan Rather regularly comes on at 6:30 p.m., the newspaper reader rightfully will expect his paper on the doorstep or the newsstand in readable condition at a given time. Only under such conditions can newspaper reading become a "habit," thereby stabilizing demand for the product. Unlike the broadcast media, print requires most of the reader's attention while its information is being consumed; one cannot wash dishes or knit or do other chores while reading a newspaper. If a paper is not there to fit into time set aside for such use, its readership will decline and eventually readers may drop it altogether.

The circulation department has a continuous need for information about sales and subscriptions, and, while changes in its operating environment take place, most follow a recognizable pattern. Its need for routine interaction with its task environment is so great that uncertainty (a severe snowstorm, for example) may involve adjustments in newspaper production: Deadlines for news and advertising may be moved up, the presses may run earlier and truck drivers may begin deliveries ahead of schedule in order to complete them on time. Yet the circulation department also must "smooth out" irregularities in its delivery pattern (decreasing the uncertainty of its task) so that information provided to readers represents the latest and best the news-editorial department can prepare.

Some portions of the advertising department may represent Type I and others may be closer to Type II (where more uncertainty is perceived in the environment, the boundary-spanning process will not be routine even though initiation of such activities is regulated, i.e., certain sales people are

designated to contact certain kinds of advertisers). Demand for advertising may vary as conditions in the advertisers' environment become more or less certain. Classified advertising probably is closer to the Type I end of the spectrum while local display advertising may be closer to Type II. The client relationship with local advertisers allows the well-functioning department to capitalize on changes in the environment (especially economic changes). It should be ready to help clients relate to readers in difficult as well as boom times, thereby reducing the effects of uncertainty for both the advertisers and the newspaper.

The news-editorial department(s) may be predominantly Type II. Like the advertising department, it faces an anticipated and regular demand for information. In fact, the more uncertain the environment, the greater the demand for information it provides. Because of this constant need for information, most boundary-spanning activity to gather and process it must be regulated, i.e., directed. However, the greater the perceived environmental uncertainty, the less routine the boundary-spanning activity will be. "Creativity" in the newsroom can be equated with the ability to identify what is happening in a complex and shifting environment and to process it in a way that attracts and then informs readers.

However, many newsroom managers have attempted to identify and routinize boundary-spanning activities that seem to fall within the Type I category. News clerks rather than journalists may take obituaries, weddings and engagements, meeting notices and other kinds of routine information. Frequently, they use forms to gather such data. But overuse of Type I methods can be dysfunctional -- the death of an elderly poet that goes unnoticed except for a few lines in an obituary column, the off-beat wedding that would make a natural human interest story for a slow Monday, the meeting of a new grassroots political or consumer organization.

There is also a danger that Type I methods will develop in beat reporting, one of the most prevalent methods for regulating who initiates boundary-spanning activities and when and where they take place. The reporter bored with reading the police blotter every morning -- or the green reporter afraid of going beyond what he or she understands the assignment to be -- may gather, without evaluating, some unusual event in the environment. The copy desk may process it in the same routine fashion. A newsroom manager finding such an item "buried" may fume because it would have made a "bright" item for the front page, but probably will not insist that it be reworked or followed up for later editions unless the newspaper is likely to be "scooped" by some competing media -- the manpower cost being too high for the result that could be obtained. This reaction was observed when burglars stole more than a thousand dollars' worth of wine -- in three bottles -- from a gourmet restaurant and the news turned up in a newspaper's police log.

A more serious instance of overly routinized beat reporting can be seen in the initial handling of the Watergate break-in. Not only did the police reporter for the Washington Post handle it much as he would any other break-in, but gatekeepers -- wire services and wire editors across the nation -- were slow to recognize the story as news. The Washington Post and its reporters may have earned their "scoop" largely because they were able to perceive that "something happening," environmental uncertainty, in a portion of the environment others treated as routine.

Routine Ways of Dealing with Uncertainty in News Work

Much of the work of the news and editorial departments seems to take place at a middle level of environmental uncertainty. Knowledge of the way things tend to work helps reduce what those not involved in news gathering and processing might regard as a highly uncertain environment to manageable proportions.

This creates something between Type I and Type II in which routine elements are involved in the process, but the process itself is not routine.

Sociologist Gaye Tuchman has documented this, detailing the ways news people learn to deal routinely with unexpected events. She worked as a participant observer at a major daily newspaper (circulation 250,000) and a television station in the same city over a two-year period. She observed that "without routine methods of coping with unexpected events, news organizations, as rational enterprises, would founder and fail."[17]

Tuchman found distinctions between hard and soft news frequently were difficult for people to make in terms of content. In some instances, the television station she was observing would present as a feature story some event that its primary competitor, another station, presented as hard news, and vice versa. So she switched to what social scientists call typifications -- classifications taking their meaning from the everyday situations in which they are used, as opposed to categories that involve definition according to content. Using such a typology Tuchman was able to observe definite routinization in news work. Components of her typology useful to this discussion are shown in Table 2, adapted from Tuchman.

TABLE 2

PRACTICAL ISSUES IN TYPIFYING NEWS

| Typification | How Is an Event Scheduled? | Is Dissemination Urgent? |
|---|---|---|
| Soft news . . . . . | Nonscheduled | No |
| Hard news . . . . . | Unscheduled and Prescheduled | Yes |
| Spot news . . . . . | Unscheduled | Yes |
| Developing news . . . | Unscheduled | Yes |
| Continuing news . . . | Prescheduled | Yes |

SOURCE: Adapted from Gaye Tuchman, "Making News by Doing Routine Work," American Journal of Sociology 29 (July 1973): 117.

The key difference between hard and soft news in this typology is time: (1) whether the news organization determines when reporters (and photographers and editorial support) will provide coverage or whether the timing of news work is imposed by the event; and (2) whether the news organization determines when the report will be relayed to its audience or whether the event imposes urgency of dissemination.

Tuchman acknowledges that it is possible to have a nonscheduled hard news story, but notes these tend to involve investigative reporting. She cites publication of the Pentagon Papers by the New York Times, which waited three months for its day in print. But even such nonscheduled hard news stories have a time element, though it may be derived more from the potential of being "scooped" than from the timeliness of the story itself. Nevertheless, investigative reporting does permit the organization a greater say in timing, both in scheduling the work and deciding when the story will be offered, than is the case with reactive coverage.

The news organization is able to react with more certainty to prescheduled events -- news conferences, legislative action, judicial proceedings, for example, than it is to unscheduled news. Frequently, news organizations intentionally or unintentionally influence the timing of prescheduled events. Newsmakers quickly learn that a news conference too late in the afternoon will deny them film coverage on the 6 p.m. local television news; a public relations representative's stock-in-trade may be the timing of news releases and news conferences to obtain maximum exposure for clients.[18] News organizations also can plan and set priorities for coverage of prescheduled events that are not timed for their benefit.

Spot news involves the unforseen event, and the inability to make a specific prediction that it will occur at a given time in a given place affects the flow of news work. But spot news usually is a term applied to unexpected

stories that happen within predictable ranges of possibilities. So news organizations develop routines for dealing with fires, murders, plane crashes, even natural disasters. Certain basic questions have to be answered quickly in such stories and the experienced reporter knows most of them, as well as the most likely sources of the answers.

Tuchman notes that some events treated as spot news are considered so important that news organizations create "stable social arrangements" to anticipate them.[19] Many major dailies are still staffed round the clock (though the early morning "graveyard shift" may be a single individual), and most smaller papers have some system for rousting reporters and editors out when an unexpected story happens outside normal work hours.

Another stable arrangement that news organizations use to anticipate the unexpected is the library, sometimes called the "morgue." Being able to pull out information that shows an event is the worst of its kind in the city's history or that the same kind of thing happened in the same location 50 years ago is vital to helping the organization explain what's really going on "out there."

Spot news also may be treated as developing news, a term Tuchman uses to describe "emergent situations," in which all the facts may not be immediately ascertained, even though the crucial elements of the event have taken place and no similar related events are anticipated. This frequently is the case in a man-made disaster, such as a plane crash or an explosion. Death and destruction may stem from a single event, but the exact number of victims may not be determined for some time -- not only is there a problem of finding survivors and identifying bodies, but there is the question of survival of the critically injured. The cause of the event may be established only after lengthy investigation and blame assigned through complex judicial proceedings.

The Poles of Proximity and Impact

Tuchman does not discuss news values specifically but her analysis is consistent with this writer's observations that proximity and impact play key roles in determining how events are processed as news. Proximity encompasses both temporal and spatial factors -- urgency of dissemination will be greater the closer the event is to the audience's relevant environment. Impact is the perceived or predicted effect on the same audience. The two factors would seem to have a multiplicative relationship in determining the news value of an event, and hence how it is is processed in keeping with the Tuchman typology. Neither proximity nor impact alone is sufficient to warrant treatment of an event as developing news; in combination, each increases the other's power.

For example, most American media will treat as a single, isolated but unexpected event the story of a bus plunging off a steep precipice in the Alps, killing all its passengers -- unless the victims include individuals of interest to their audience area. It will be described in a few paragraphs at most. On the other hand, a school bus crash in which the life of even one child is lost is apt to be treated as developing news by media serving the area in which the bus crashed or the victim lived. It also is likely to be treated as developing news if it happens closer to the time the media must convey messages to the audience -- near deadline for a newspaper, near airtime for broadcast media (the latter treating much more news as developing because of multiple times for communicating with their audience).

Proximity alone does not make spot news qualify for treatment as developing news: A twister that uproots a few trees generally will be treated as spot news, even in the area it hits (providing it strikes well before deadline or airtime). It may not even merit mention in a national roundup of the weather. But a tornado that causes destruction to property and injures individuals may be covered as a developing story by media nearest the affected area, even though it may only merit a mention by national media.

The importance of developing news versus spot news to the newsroom manager is its effect on work flow. Once the initial shock is over, planning can begin for future coverage. Work schedules may be reshaped and some union contracts recognize these as "news emergencies" so no overtime penalty is assessed against management when it does change individual schedules.

Developing news and continuing news share characteristics, just as spot news and developing news do. Continuing news represents a much more predictable work flow. It is defined by Tuchman as "a series of stories on the same subject based upon events occurring over a period of time."[20] If a single event has a profound impact on an area, it may be treated as both developing and continuing news for planning purposes.

Events occurring over a period of time also can represent a process, as in the actions of governmental units or elections of political leaders. A news organization will treat as continuing news those processes that have both proximity and impact, and the degree of change represented by a single event in the process generally will play a major role in determining its news value. Defeat of an incumbent official in an election probably will be given more notice than his or her re-election. A Supreme Court decision overturning action by some governmental body generally will be treated as bigger news than confirmation of governmental action.

A process may encompass a trend, "a general or prevailing tendency or course," according to Webster's.[21] Coverage of trends generally is treated as soft news if the trend is identified by the news organization, since both the scheduling of work and dissemination of news can be determined by the newsroom manager, and is treated as hard news if it is identified by some other organization or by individuals. This could be viewed as bringing the discussion full circle, back to the initial difference between hard and soft news. But one Tuchman typification remains, and there is still the issue of whether news

organizations are overly concerned about individual events. It may, in fact, be more useful to think of types of news -- spot, developing, continuing and trends -- as concentric circles, each sharing a common center (See Figure 1).

Stories Outside the Predictable Range

The types of news discussed so far deal with events happening within predictable ranges of probabilities -- the possibility that they will happen eventually can be anticipated, although not when or where they will happen. They stem from the way things usually work: the way crimes tend to be committed, aberrations of weather within a certain range, regular transition of leadership and social change taking place through the democratic process.

The inaccurately predicted event is another matter. Tuchman observed that news people react to such events by invoking a special typification: "What a story!" And she found there are even unusual arrangements and behaviors routinely associated with coping with such circumstances:

> Symbolically, the degree to which this typification is itself routine is captured in the almost stereotypical manner in which verbal and non-verbal gestures accompany the pronunciation of "What a story!" "What" is emphasized. The speaker provides additional emphasis by speaking more slowly than usual. The speaker adds yet more emphasis by nodding his head slowly, while smiling and rubbing his hands together.
>
> Stereotypically, Hollywood portrays the relatively rare "What-a-story" as the routine of the "exciting world of news." The editor himself rolls up his sleeves and writes headlines; the copy boy gets his "big break" and is sent to cover a major assignment; someone cries, "Stop the presses!"
>
> Sociologically, the extent to which unusual arrangements are routinely made to cope with a "what-a-story" is illustrated by the reaction of newspaper informants to President Johnson's speech of March 31, 1968. Learning of Johnson's announcement that he would not run for re-election, the newsmen immediately instituted taken-for-granted routines to handle the "what-a-story" and referred to similar situations in the past.[22]

As Tuchman notes, Johnson's speech was prescheduled. In fact, news organizations had an advance copy of the text -- minus the surprise announcement that he would not run again. As the president spoke about the de-escalation of

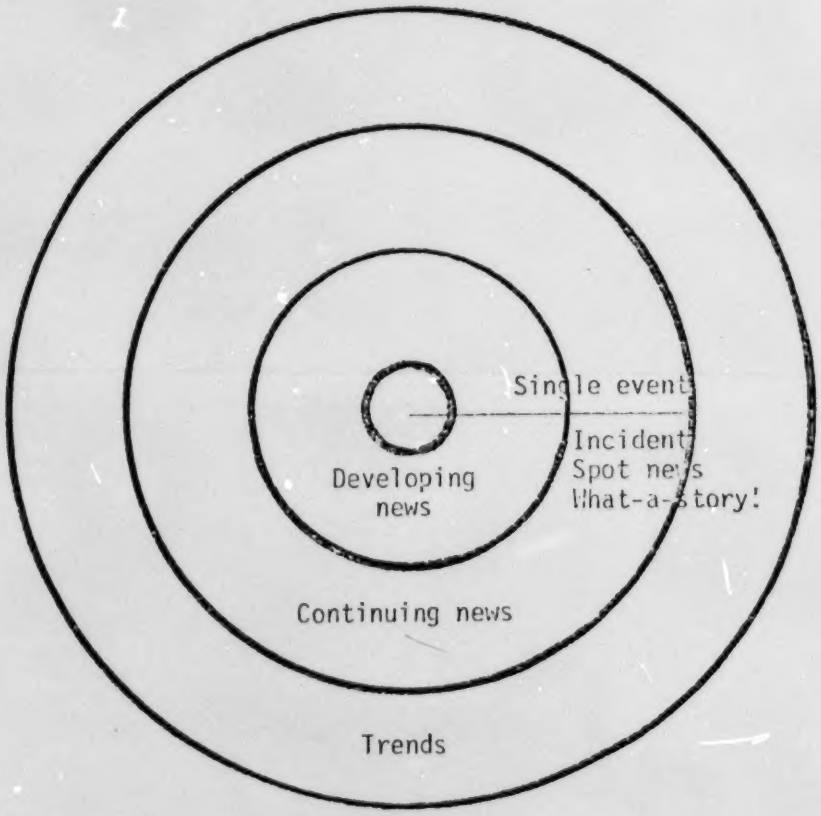


Figure 1. Relationships among the types of news

American bombing, a front page story about it was being set in type. Editors could congratulate themselves that the newspaper was in good shape for the first edition deadline, 11 p.m.

> And then it happened: bedlam . . . An excited assistant city editor ran, shouting, into the city room from before the television set of the newspaper's entertainment critic. His action was perhaps more unprecedented than the president's announcement. The telephone of the assistant managing editor rang. The managing editor was calling to discuss coverage of the speech. The assistant managing editor automatically said "Hello, Ted," before he had even heard the voice on the other end.
>
> It would be impossible to describe the amount of revision accomplished in a remarkably brief time as telephoned reporters, volunteering editors, and mounds of wire service copy poured into the newsroom. But the comments of editors and reporters are telling. Lifting their heads to answer telephones, bark orders and clarify them, the editors periodically announced, "What a story! . . . the story of the century . . . what a night, what a night . . . there's been nothing like it since Coolidge said, 'I will not run.'"[23]

Tuchman says that at this particular newspaper the idea that Johnson would run again was such a taken-for-granted assumption that editors had refused to bet more than $1 with the paper's top political reporter, who predicted while covering the New Hampshire primary that Johnson would not seek another term. The editors said it would be like taking candy from a baby.

Looking at Figure 1, consider how similar "what-a-story" and spot news are. Essentially, "what-a-story" is spot news stripped of all elements of predictability. It is frequently the unthinkable. Tuchman reports one editor in 1968, trying to decide the size of type to use for a headline on Robert Kennedy's death, invoked a whole string of such stories, exclaiming, "What a year! What a year . . . The Tet offensive, Johnson's speech, King's death . . . now this."[24] Those events were all treated as developing news, then continuing news and can be seen in retrospect as turning points in the course of history, the beginning of trends of a sort.

In many "what-a-story" cases, local news media play a supporting role in gathering and processing news. Much of the work actually is carried out by another "stable social arrangement," the wire services. Although a newspaper or television station assigns reporters to gather what one newsman described to Tuchman as "the usual reaction," the bulk of the urgently disseminated copy comes in over the wires.

But local news media do experience "what-a-story" events that place the same kind of stress on their staffs. Frequently, these may be events that will be treated by media farther from the event or with audiences less affected as developing or spot news.

The tornado that destroyed half of Xenia, Ohio, in April 1974 was treated as "what-a-story" by the local radio station, WGIC. Technically, it should have gone off the air at sundown, but it continued to transmit because it was the only medium by which the city's stunned residents could learn about what had happened in their environment and about efforts to recover from the disaster. Paul Kintzel, the station's veteran newsman, recalls that a conscious effort was made to broadcast information that would help people cope with the event, without increasing its horror.[25] The station broadcast lists of people who were safe and where they could be found, where emergency help of various kinds could be obtained, anything and everything that it could learn to help residents adjust to the dramatic change in their environment. Traveling through the area in 1978, it was clear that the tornado was continuing news in the city -- the swath of destruction could still be discerned, the efforts to rebuild were obvious. One of the reasons that such an event qualifies for "what-a-story"treatment is that even though tornadoes are a distinct possibility during certain seasons in certain regions of the country, no medium expects such a disaster in its own area.

Trends and Incidents

Just as "what-a-story" can lead to change that may be covered as continuing

news and/or a trend, so can spot news or single incidents. The simplest may actually be linked: A series of fires finally traced to an arson ring will have similar elements that help explain how the events relate to one another. Or it may be a series of "what-a-story" or spot news events, such as plane hijackings, which led to another trend (newsworthy for a while) that is now taken as part of the normal environment, airport security.

Incidents, like trends, are not discussed by Tuchman, probably because they fall outside the "normal" realm of news work. By incident, we mean "something that happens," borrowing from the first meaning of the word assigned by Webster's.[26] Incidents may or may not be expected and may or may not be reported by news organizations. If they are reported, it generally is on the basis of a single news value -- proximity for meeting notices, entertainment listings, deaths, births, engagements, weddings, traffic court citations or real estate transfers; impact for stock market and commodity prices -- and coverage is highly routinized. Normally, incidents are reported without comment and, in newspapers, may be set in smaller type than information treated as news.

Possibly the most difficult trends to cover emerge from incidents, yet that is the way stories of many of the most significant changes in recent years developed -- changes in the institutions of marriage and family, population shifts, computerization, drug use, new roles for women. Like trends related to events that were treated as news -- inflation, energy consumption, pollution and clean-up of the physical environment, race relations, corporate mergers -- trends based on incidents must be identified by news people to help explain future events. It could be argued that news organizations serve their own interests, as well as those of their audiences, by identifying trends that reduce the shock of potential "what-a-story" events.

Although trends, like "what-a-story" events, reflect a high level of change and thus high uncertainty about what's happening "out there," they call for quite

different strategies in the newsroom. The identification of trends (like good investigative reporting) involves symbolic structuring of an uncertain portion of the environment. It calls for Type II strategies following the Leifer-Delbecq typology (direction of the gathering of information and non-routine processes, unorthodox methods that may even involve the unfamiliar tools of the social scientist). Investigative reporting may involve familiar journalistic methods or unorthodox means, such as undercover work.

How High News Uncertainty Affects the Total Newspaper

"Stop the presses!" may be the stereotypical signal of a "what-a-story" situation, but like most stereotypes it is not without an element of truth. In most well-run newspapers, only a "what-a-story" event will affect the day-to-day operations of other departments of the newspaper significantly. A "what-a-story" carries with it the possibility of an unanticipated increase in readership, including potential for obtaining that readership on a more regular basis and hence attracting more advertising revenue, but to do such a story justicemay involve costly changes of routine in the production department and expenditures on news coverage (and possible costs associated with making space available) that will upset the budgetary plans of the newspaper's upper echelon and business department.

A "what-a-story" calls for Type IV strategies (initiation of boundary-spanning activity will not be regulated and the process will not be routine), a statement that does not conflict with Tuchman's observation that news people identify routine elements when faced with such circumstances. According to Leifer and Delbecq and other writers on boundary-spanning activity, this represents a normal attempt to move toward certainty. News people must restructure the volatile environment in a way that makes sense to them so that they can, in turn, explain it to their audience. It is not uncommon, in this writer's experience, to hear news people talk about "trying to get a handle on" such stories.

Initiation of coverage may be regulated only to the point of a reporter or photographer at the scene of the event letting the editor know more help is or is not needed. If a news clerk happened to be at the scene and alerted the news desk, he or she might be pressed into chores normally assigned to a reporter; the same would be true if the publisher was the person closest to the event. But such makeshift boundary-spanning will be a temporary state; the "what-a-story" event is a call to battle. While many news staffers can self-direct in the face of spot or developing news and even in the initial break of a "what-a-story," top editors generally expect to be on hand and are expected to show up to direct coverage. In highly turbulent times, such direction is required:

(a) Because of the expectation of urgent delivery of news about what's happening, not only from regular readers but because of the potential demand from new readers;

(b) Because coordination is necessary to maximize cooperative efforts and avoid counterproductive competition, which can arise from duplication of efforts in such circumstances; and

(c) Because the assistance of other elements in the news organization may have to be enlisted to maximize the ability to adapt to stresses and possibilities created by the situation.

Integrative Model of a Newspaper

While "what-a-story" events are relatively rare, they illustrate the need for an integrative model of the newspaper system (See Figure 2). The demand for information comes from the readers -- who form the central task environment of the circulation department -- and goes to the two other departments engaged in boundary-spanning activity: news-editorial and advertising.

The demand for audience attention comes from the sources of information in the environment scanned by news-editorial workers and from advertisers (See

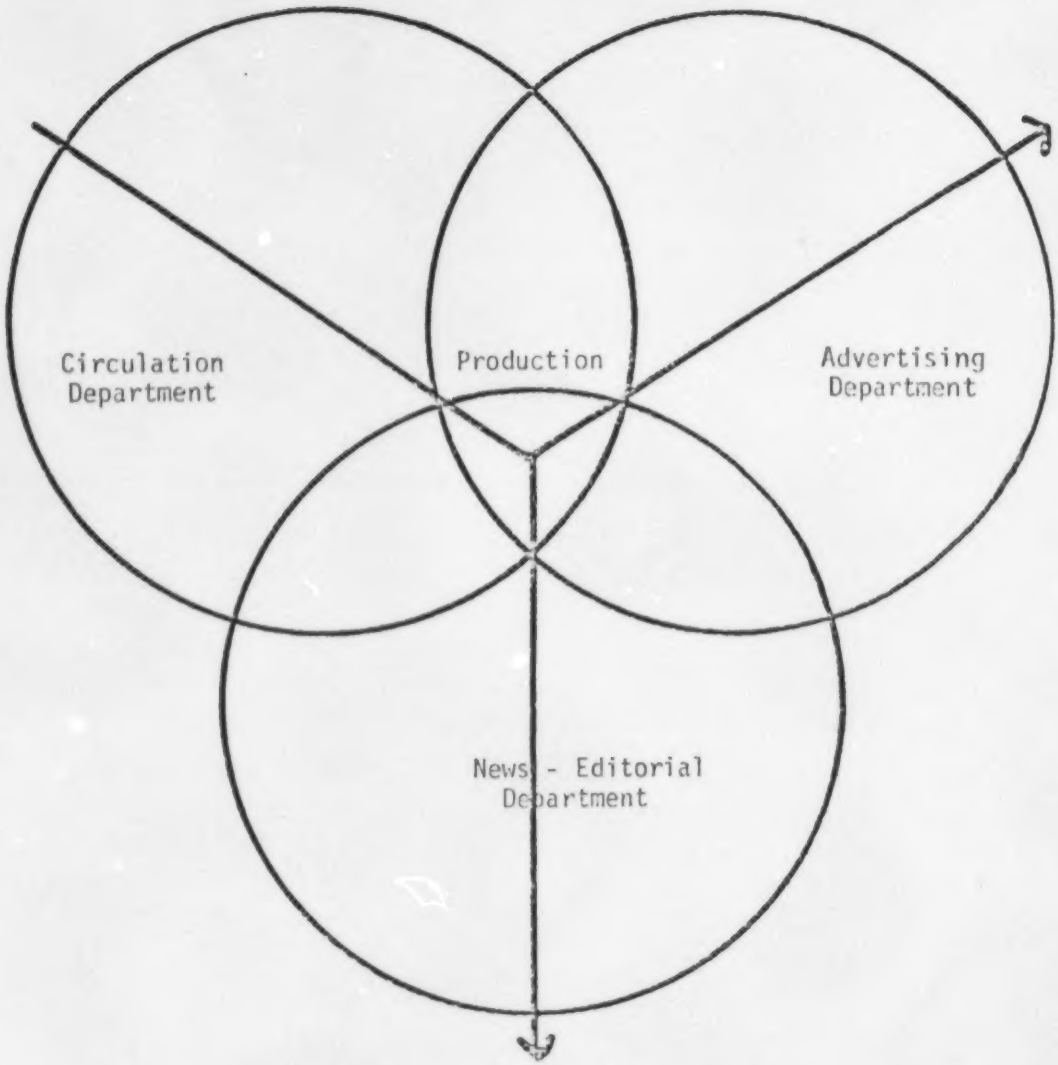


Figure 2. Systems model of a newspaper showing demand for information as an input

Figure 3]. It probably is no accident that the Washington Post rather than a small magazine broke the key revelations of the Watergate scandal -- sources knew not only that it was interested but that it could command the appropriate audience. The same could be said of the Pentagon Papers release. Although various alternative media served as conduits for some types of information in the late 60s and early 70s, it nevertheless was the largest and most established media that provided the most attractive "ears" to those with a story to tell.

The lure of a larger audience also may serve as a motivator for news people themselves. Except for those who demonstrate a clear preference for self-selected audiences, such as sports and entertainment pages, the recognition provided by a front-page byline or a story promoted with in-house advertising should be a strong incentive for good performance. It is an incentive that can be diminished, however, if such prominence is awarded for something less than excellence.

Advertisers also demand the attention of that same audience but in a different sense. Leo Bogart has shown that they place great store in the credibility of a newspaper's editorial product, seeing it linked directly to circulation figures. Bogart found that if a newspaper's circulation drops by 15 percent in a city with more than one newspaper, advertisers desert and the paper "folds."[27] As Udell states:

> For advertising to be effective in a newspaper, it must be seen and read by a sufficient number to make it "cost effective." The largest-circulation newspaper in a given market generally gets a disproportionately large amount of newspaper advertising revenue in that market. A competitive second paper, while it may be behind only slightly in circulation, is often a more distant second in advertising.[28]

The discussion so far has concentrated on the three boundary-spanning units -- those in which the technology is information processing between the organization and its environment. The production department represents the technical core of the newspaper; its environment is the rest of the organization and its need for information from outside the newspaper is irregular and

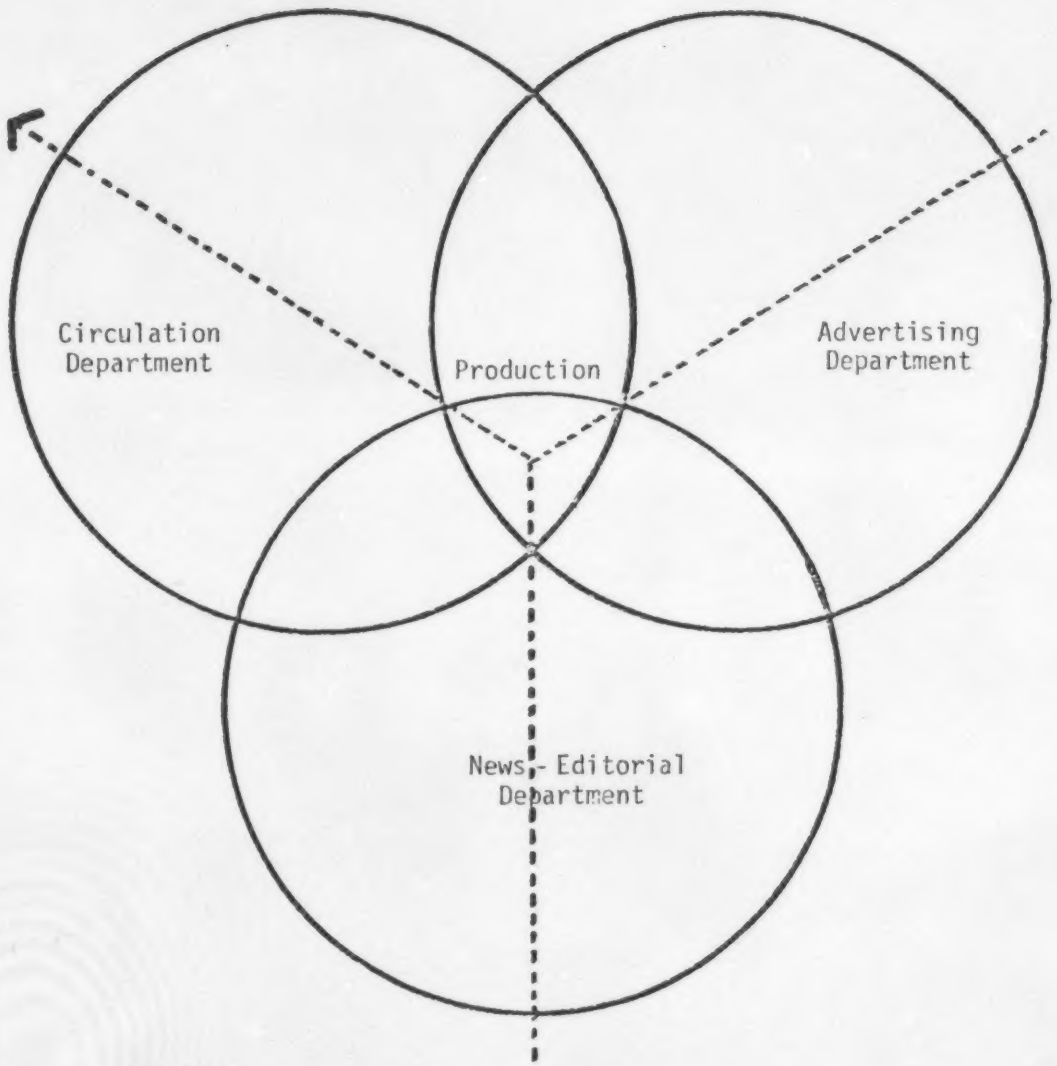


Figure 3. Systems model of a newspaper showing demand for an audience as an input

not anticipated. (This makes it Type III in the Leifer-Delbecq typology with no assigned boundary-spanning roles in terms of the external environment and routine exchange with the internal environment.)

Decisions for the production department are made in terms of its own capacity and the needs of the news-editorial, advertising and circulation departments. Environmental uncertainty impacts on the production department only when it reaches a critical level for one of the boundary-spanning units.

Deadlines and Other Work Flow Decisions

Deadlines would seem to be the critical work flow decisions on newspapers. They denote completion of boundary-spanning cycles, even though potential news continues to develop in the environment; they differentiate the work of newspaper production workers from others in the printing trade. But deadlines are not the only work flow decisions that link the activities of production and boundary-spanning departments: Heavy advertising demand may increase the number of pages to be printed, thereby increasing the space allotted for news, the time needed for the press run and the effort required for delivery, or it may decrease the space available for news (which can compound the difficulty of decisions about what does and does not go into the newspaper, and can make it more difficult for circulation workers to sell the product). Development of a "what-a-story" event may mean changing pages already prepared.

Production department functions are so central to the newspaper that every effort is made to routinize interaction between its workers and those in the information processing units. Typically, there are printed forms (or computer formats) for workers to use in interdepartmental communication with the production unit at the rank-and-file level depicted in Figures 2 and 3.

Major changes in the production department, such as decisions over whether press capacity should be increased by adding to the capital plant are reserved for a higher level of the newspaper organization. As a rule, the publisher or

or general manager will be involved (See Figure 4). Udell explains why this is so, particularly with the new technology of newspaper production.[29] There are financial advantages, in addition to the obvious efficiencies, to be gained in converting to offset and computerized processes. Chief among these are potentials for a reduced payroll and tax writeoffs, decisions that go to the fiscal heart of the newspaper operation.

Another reason major production decisions are reserved for a higher level of the organization is that they involve integration of the highly specialized departments for news-editorial, advertising and circulation. If a news-editorial department, for example, believes that readers would be better served by placing national news on Page 2 and moving obituary classifieds normally carried there to another location in the newspaper, it cannot simply move those revenue-producing notices to another section. On some newspapapers such a decision will be referred all the way to the top, to the publisher, who may be the single integrating force in the organization. Increasingly, however, such decisions are being handled in a marketing framework, an attempt to fulfill customer needs through product planning, pricing, promotion, distribution and service at the lowest costs, thereby improving profits.[30]

In the functional model shown in Figure 4, the heads of the boundary-spanning units interact in terms of marketing strategy. Decisions at that level (indicated by the dotted ellipse) can be seen as corresponding to Udell's model of the newspaper market.[31] The top management of the news-editorial department (the cone outlined by dashes) works with counterparts in the circulation and advertising departments, possibly in consultation with top level management and/or the newspaper's marketing department or market research experts.

As Udell notes, the application of the marketing concept to newspapers has not met with universal acceptance.[32] Editors who oppose the concept tend to protest that the press should not just give people what they want, ignoring the

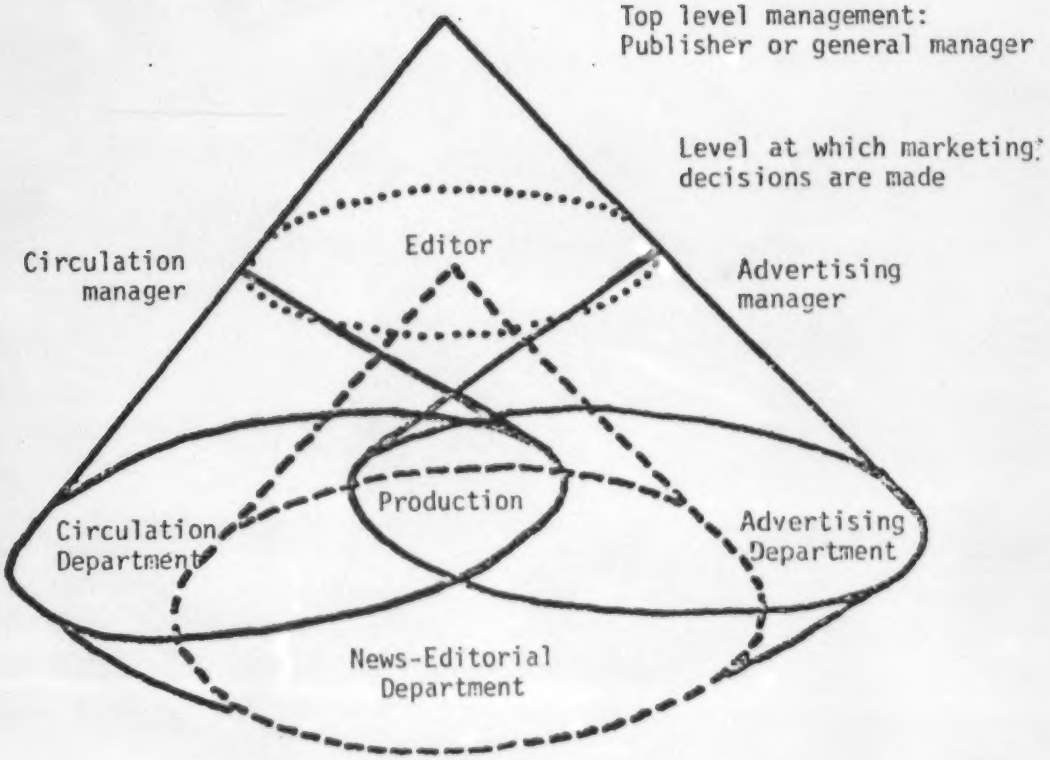


Figure 4. Three-dimensional systems model of a newspaper showing the level at which marketing decisions are made

fact that a marketing strategy may be based on identifying people's needs as much as their desires. But according to the Research Institute of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, some 355 Readership Committees were operating in the United States and Canada by 1978 in which "editorial, publishing, advertising, circulation and promotion people now meet regularly and work together toward common goals."[33] Mostly, the Institute bulletin notes, those goals concern readers and how to serve them better. The way in which newspaper departments interact in marketing terms can be seen in the typology shown in Table 3, combining aspects of the Tuchman and Leifer-Delbecq frameworks.

TABLE 3

TYPIFYING NEWS FROM A BOUNDARY-SPANNING PERSPECTIVE

| Regularity of reader attention, demand | Perceived Environmental Uncertainty | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Low | Predictable | Somewhat Predictable | High |
| Anticipated: normal reader attention, subscriptions, newsstand sales | Incidents | Soft news | Spot news | Developing news |
| | | Continuing news | | |
| Promotable: possibility of increasing reader attention, newsstand sales | | Highly relevant soft news | | Investigative |
| | | Highly relevant continuing news | | Trends |
| Unanticipated: spontaneous increase in reader attention, newsstand sales | | | | What-a-story! |
| | | | | Highly relevant developing news |

The prediction that reader attention and newsstand sales will vary with relevance and perceived environmental uncertainty is based on the concept of need for orientation developed by McCombs and Weaver.[34] Empirical evidence supporting this two-dimensional concept was gathered during a major study of the agenda-setting function of the press during the 1972 presidential campaign. The study found that voters with a high need for orientation were much more likely to be frequent media users than those with a low need.[35] Weaver, reporting on the study, adds, "Need for orientation also is related to the agenda-setting effect of mass media, although less strongly and less systematically than to frequency of media use."[36] The need for orientation would seem to relate most strongly to the surveillance function, with personal perceptions of relevance and environmental uncertainty that organizational researchers have found for boundary-spanning activity.

Anticipated or normal reader attention and demand is related to the kind of information that encourages the "news habit," the kind of information on which home delivery routes or regular sales to commuters are based. Changes in demand should be related to one of two factors: (1) fairly permanent changes in the newspaper's content and (2) changes in the perceived environment and/or the relevance of aspects of that environment for readers and potential readers, providing availability of the newspaper is constant. New sections or new areas of coverage could represent the first of those factors, while changes in housing, job location or income level could be related to the second. Such demand may be predicted on availability of information about incidents (information owing much of its usefulness to its regular presence in the paper, i.e., stock listings, marriage licenses, television schedules), as well as what is more generally thought of as news.

Promotable demand is for exceptional and planned editorial effort, "enterprise" in current journalistic jargon. It permits the newspaper to call the

the attention of readers and potential readers to stories of special relevance. How the specific story can be promoted may vary with the competitive climate in which the newspaper operates, as well as the story in question. Potential for promotion should be highest on those stories reflecting the highest degree of perceived environmental uncertainty, which also would seem to be the hardest kind of story for competitors to match.

There are two prerequisites for such an editorial-circulation payoff, however. One is a climate in the newsroom that facilitates such effort and the other is availability of the newspaper to would-be readers, especially through single-copy sales. That aspect of the newspaper business has fallen so out of favor with many publishers that the Research Institute of the American Newspaper Publishers Association recently featured an article in its bullentin entitled, "How Single-Copy Sales Can Increase Circulation."[37]

The ability of the editorial and circulation departments to meet the spontaneous demand created by the "what-a-story" situation and some developing news may be even more critical, to both the newspaper and its audience. Under such conditions, demand for information may drive the would-be reader to use competing media if the newspaper fails to deliver the message, through problems in either the editorial or circulation departments. Credibility of the newspaper could be expected to suffer under such circumstances, especially if another print medium manages to deliver the messages adequately. The ability of broadcast media to deliver such messages almost immediately imposes a special urgency on the work of print media under such circumstances, forcing them to tell the story quickly, more completely and to keep probing for explanatory information.

The strong editorial product-circulation linkage implied in Table 3 does not coincide with the conventional view of newspaper economics. Hirsch, for example, comments that:

> Whereas the goal of business enterprises is usually profits, news media owners and publishers often are quoted and described as pursuing other values as well, e.g., personal prestige and influence. Searching for "norms of rationality," the organizational analyst refuses to rule out the balance sheet as a prime motive in frequent publishers' decisions to forego "quality" journalism and investigative reporting. Circulation studies repeatedly show theses do not affect sales.[38]

And Ungar concludes a book-length narrative on the efforts by the New York Times, Washington Post, Boston Globe, Chicago Sun-Times and other leading newspapers to publish articles based on the Pentagon Papers by toting up the legal expenses they incurred and adding:

> Contrary to the popular belief, the newspapers gained very little of a material nature in return for the costs. The differences in circulation were insignificant. As Chicago Sun-Times editor James Hoge puts it: "Most people don't really understand about circulation at all. When the President announced his trip to China, I think we sold an extra 13,000 papers, and when Cassius Clay fought his last fight, which was against some unknown, we sold an extra 35,000 papers." What the newspapers did gain was a new knowledge of and faith in the First Amendment as a fundamental principle of freedom that sets the United States apart from other countries.[39]

To imply that "good" journalism is not "good" business merely because circulation does not increase dramatically as a result underestimates the complexity of contemporary newspapering. Daily circulation in American cities of 100,000 and up declined during the decade from 1965 to 1975, with the sharpest decreases in cities with populations of one million or more (average decline in these cities was 14.4 percent).[40] For major city newspapers, such as those involved in reporting about the Pentagon Papers, a slight increase during this period represented a very positive "bottom line."

But, as a portion of revenue, circulation is a minor item. Its importance to the enterprise in money terms stems from its relationship to advertising. Udell estimates that 65 to 70 percent of all newspaper revenue comes from advertising.[41]

Although it would take a major study to establish whether there is a causal link between exceptional journalistic enterprise and advertising revenues, the

steep decline in New York Times advertising linage did slow and then linage actually increased slightly in the wake of its Pulitzer Prize-winning coverage of the Pentagon Papers.[42] There was an even more dramatic change in the ad linage of the Washington Post following its Watergate coverage. Again, there is no direct evidence that investigative reporting helped advertising sales, and the issue is complicated by the mergen of the paper's two rivals, the Washington Star and Washington News in June 1972. It is impossible to say how much the narrowing of competition influenced the 2 per cent increase in the Post circulation between September 1971 and September 1974 and the 17 percent jump in linage between May 1972 and May 1974.[43]

The clearest link between editorial content and advertising, however, is in reader demographics. Advertisers increasingly want to know who reads the newspaper, how much they earn, how much education they have, where they shop. For example, J.C. Penney executives have begun to insist that newspapers provide them not only the demographics of readership but information on circulation by zip code so they can be matched with figures on Penney charge customers by geographic area, to insure the company is reaching its target audience.[44] An analysis of the Rupert Murdoch entries in the U.S. market claimed that media buyers were unhappy with his New York Post format, heavy on crime, scandal and gossip, because it drove away "upscale" readers, those at the upper end of the demographic scales in terms of income and education, replacing them with readers with less disposable income.[45] Although it may be hard to equate any single editorial effort (even a protracted editorial effort such as the Pentagon Papers or the investigative reporting on Watergate) with advertising revenues, the kinds and quality of editorial content do seem to play a role in determining the audience delivered to advertisers. As Udell comments, "A newspaper's editorial content affects not only the kind and amount of readership it attracts, but also the kind and amount of advertising it will carry."[46]

While financial considerations may not have motivated either the publication of the Pentagon Papers or the investigative effort on Watergate, in the long run the publishers of those newspapers can hardly be accused of poor business judgment. The exceptional journalistic efforts of their editorial departments, in fact, have been repackaged and sold as supplemental news services to other newspapers across the country, permitting them to recoup some of the costs associated with maintaining the supervisory and reporting staff to engage in such enterprise.[47]

But the relationship between quality of journalistic effort and quality of audience delivered to advertisers is as applicable to a small city daily operating without significant print competition as it is to the so-called "elite" press. If would-be readers can "get along" with local and network broadcasts, spiced by interpersonal gossip, they are more likely to "get along" without a local newspaper that treats news as merely "material to sandwich between money-producing ads."[48] The systems model of newspaper functioning is predicated on the principle that it is "good" business to do a "good" job of providing information in terms of the definition of news offered earlier: information that can be gleaned from surveillance of the relevant environment, based on rigorous examination of what's happening "out there," why it's happening and how it affects individuals, organizations and their environment, physically, socially and psychologically.

## Conclusion

For some newspapers, application of the model offered here and the definition of news may be prescriptive rather than descriptive, a delineation of what "ought to be" rather than what "is."[49] If so, it may come closer to directing attention to remedies than the critical descriptions of news and news work offered by some recent researchers: News indeed may serve to legitimize the "status quo," serving as "an ally of legitimated institutions," by providing a

public forum more readily to those in power than to average members of media audiences.[50] It may also be that news is awarded prominence by some newspapers in a way that serves to maintain harmony among the editors of metropolitan, national and international desks.[51] News workers may even subvert the news-audience-advertiser linkage by focusing, for example, on the affluent suburbs that advertisers want to reach while ignoring the news potential of the inner city.[52] But the problem with such critiques is that they do not offer a standard that newspapers can adopt as a goal in striving for greater effectiveness, both as social institutions and as business firms.

By the gathering, processing and distribution of news, newspapers can facilitate adjustments in the social, political and economic order without destroying order itself. A Constitution that places ultimate power in the hands of the people and guarantees freedoms of speech and the press certainly was not intended either to enshrine the existing power structure or to promote revolution as the chief mechanism for change. It provided for orderly adjustments, for evolutionary change, and newspapers have functioned and can function as part of the system for adjusting institutions to meet the changing needs and desires of a free people.

FOOTNOTES

[1]P. R. Lawrence and J. W. Lorsch, Organization and Environment (Boston: Harvard Business School Division of Research, 1967).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Chris Argyris, Behind the Front Page: Organization Self-Renewal in a Metropolitan Newspaper (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, Inc., 1974).

[4]John A. Kaufman III, "The Nature and Effectiveness of a Dual Hierarchy System of Newspaper Administration" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976).

[5]Ibid.

[6]See especially Wilbur Schramm, "The Nature of Communication Between Humans," in Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, ed., The Process and Effects of Mass Communications (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 3-53; Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communications in Society," in Schramm and Roberts, pp. 84-99; Charles R. Wright, "Functional Analysis and Mass Communication," in Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning White, People, Society and Mass Communications (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 97, and Wright, "Functional Analysis and Mass Communications Revisited," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., The Uses of Mass Communication: Current Perspectives on Gratification Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 197-212.

[7]Joan A. Deppa, "Change in the Newsroom: Field Test of a Training Program for Newsroom Supervisors Using Video-taped Role Models" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1981), Appendix A, "Arriving at a Definition of News," pp. 387-403.

[8]Max Ways, "What's Wrong with News? It Isn't New Enough!" in William Lutz, The Age of Communication (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), p. 180.

[9]Richard Leifer and Andre Delbecq, "Organizational/Environmental Interchange: A Model of Boundary Spanning Activity," Academy of Management Review 3 (January 1978): 40-50.

[10]Ibid, pp. 40-41.

[11]R. T. Keller, A. D. Szilagyi and W. E. Holland, "Boundary Spanning Activity and Employee Reactions: An Empirical Study," Human Relations 29 (1976): 699-710.

[12]See also T.J. Allen and S. F. Cohen, "Information Flow in Research Laboratories," Administrative Science Quarterly 14 (1969): 12-19; R. P. Leifer, "An Analysis of the Characteristics and Functioning of Interorganizational Boundary Spanning Personnel," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975).

[13]Gerald L. Grotta, Ernest F. Larkin and Bob J. Carroll Jr., "News vs. Advertising: Does the Audience Perceive the 'Journalistic Distinction'?" Journalism Quarterly 53 (1976): 448-456.

[14]Ibid, p. 452.

[15]Leifer and Delbecq.

[16]Gaye Tuchman, "Making News by Doing Routine Work," American Journal of Sociology 29 (July 1973): 110-130.

[17]Ibid, p. 111.

[18]Personal interviews with public relations representatives in my role as a United Press International staffer and supervisor, especially in Maine 1975-78.

[19]Tuchman, p. 120.

[20]Ibid, p. 115.

[21]David B. Guralnik, ed., Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (New York: World Publishing, 1972), p. 1516.

[22]Tuchman, p. 126.

[23]Ibid, p. 127.

[24]Ibid, p. 128.

[25]Paul Kintzel, personal interview, Xenia, Ohio, July 1978.

[26]Webster's, p. 710.

[27]Leo Bogart, "The Future of the Metropolitan Daily," Journal of Communication 25 (Spring 1975): 37.

[28]Jon G. Udell, The Economics of the American Newspaper (New York: Hastings House, 1978), p. 109.

[29]Ibid, p. 97.

[30]Ibid, p. 47.

[31]Ibid, p. 52.

[32]Ibid, p. 61.

[33]Joe D. Smith Jr., "Report of the [illegible]aper Readership Project," R.I. Bulletin of the American Newspaper Pu[illegible]shers Association, No. 1294 (August 25, 1978), p. 309.

[34]Maxwell E. McCombs and David H. Weaver, "Voters' Needs for Orientation and Use of Mass Communication" (Report prepared for presentation to the International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada, 1973), discussed in Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs, The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 108-110.

[35]David H. Weaver, "Political Issues and Voter Need Orientation," in Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs, eds., The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 107-119. The typology asserts that low relevance (regardless of the degree of uncertainty) results in a low need for orientation, that high relevance and low uncertainty result in a moderate need for orientation and that high relevance and high uncertainty result in a high need for orientation. This is congruent with the definition of news offered here, since it stresses surveillance of the relevant environment.

[36]Weaver, p. 111.

[37]Robert C. Anderson, "How Single Copy Sales Can Increase Circulation," R. I. Bulletin of American Newspaper Publishers Association, No. 1299 (October 4, 1978), p. 404.

[38]Paul M. Hirsch, "Occupational, Organizational and Institutional Models in Mass Media Research: Toward an Integrated Framework," in Paul M. Hirsch, Peter V. Miller and F. Gerald Kline, eds., Strategies for Communications Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977), p. 26.

[39]Sanford J. Ungar, The Papers and The Papers: An Account of the Legal and Political Battle Over the Pentagon Papers (New York: E. P. Dutton Company, Inc., 1972), p. 319.

[40]Udell, p. 103.

[41]Ibid, p. 99.

[42]Editor and Publisher, annual data published each May, 1970 to 1978.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Dan Lionel, "Advertising Scene -- Penney Exec Wants Zip Code Data," Editor and Publisher, May 19, 1979, p. 34.

[45]Chris Welles, "The Americanization of Rupert Murdoch," Esquire Fortnightly 91 (May 22, 1979): 59.

[46]Udell, p. 57.

[47]David Halberstam, The Powers That Be (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 293, 366-367, 565, 635n and 640-641.

[48]Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York: The Free Press, 1978), p. 16.

[49]Lyman W. Porter, Edward E. Lawler III and J. Richard Hackman, Behavior in Organizations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), p. 18. The authors warn that "prescriptive recommendations in the absence of solid descriptive understanding" is risky. It is precisely for that reason that the discussion of news and the descriptive model of newspapers is offered.

[50]Tuchman, Making News, p. 4.

[51]Leon V. Sigal, Reporters and Officials (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath, 1973), p. 30.

[52]Felix Gutierrez and Clint C. Wilson II, "The Demographic Dilemma: Is the Los Angeles Times Afraid to Expand Minority Coverage Because It Might Lose 'Upscale' White Readers?" Columbia Journalism Review, January/February 1979, p. 53-55.